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Marquesan Carvings

French Military Rule
in the
Marquesas, 1842 - 1890

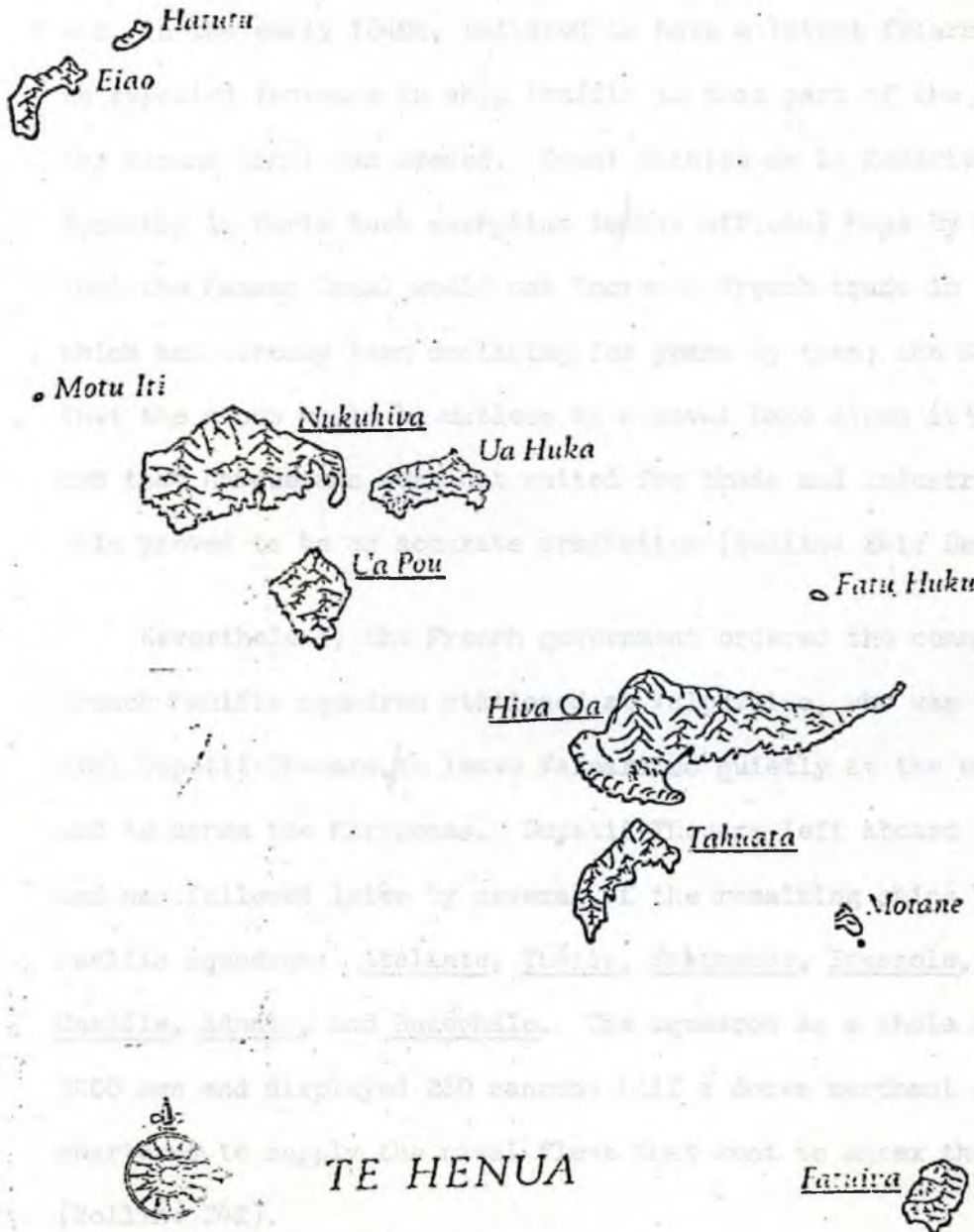
Mark Berg
PIP 690
French Polynesia
Dr. W.J. Newhouse
Fall 1983
27 October 1983

The Marquesas Islands are the northernmost part of French Polynesia. They consist of six inhabited islands and five uninhabited islands falling into a southeast group and a northwest group. The southeast group, which was visited by foreigners first, consists of the three inhabited islands of Niva Oa, the largest island in the archipelago and, for the period under discussion in this paper, the most populous island, Tahuata, and Fatuhiva; the uninhabited islands are Motane and Fatu Huku. The inhabited islands of the northwest group are Nukuhiva, the largest of the northern islands, Ua Pou and Ua Huka; the three uninhabited islands are Matutu, Eiao and Motu Iti. Taiohae on the south coast of Nukuhiva today serves as the administrative center of the Marquesas.

This paper discusses the French military administration of the Marquesas from annexation of the group by French naval officers in May 1842 until the replacement of French naval administrators by French civil administrators in 1890. The main thesis is that the French, despite their moderate presence in the Marquesas, exerted a beneficial influence on the people during this period, and they certainly prevented further depopulation by intervening in force in the southeast group in 1880.

ANNEXATION OF THE MARQUESAS

By 1841, the French were ready to claim Pacific territories for themselves, ostensibly to supply and repair French ships that called at Pacific ports, but also to assert French influence in a new part of the earth. The government of Louis-Philippe was looking, for whatever reasons, for a Pacific deep-water port-of-call where ships of all sizes could anchor. The Marquesas was chosen because of Dumont D'Urville's impressive report on the Taiohae Roads as a most suitable *site*



The Marquesas Archipelago
(Source: Dening)

for naval squadrons and on Hakatea Bay four miles to the west of Taiohae as suitable for ship building and repairs (Rollin: 241). The Marquesas was, in the early 1840s, believed to have a bright future because of an expected increase in ship traffic in that part of the Pacific whenever the Panama Canal was opened. Count Mathieu de la Redarte of the French Assembly in Paris took exception to this official hope by pointing out that the Panama Canal would not increase French trade in the Pacific, which had already been declining for years by then; the Count also added that the group would be useless as a naval base since it was too isolated and that Marquesans were not suited for trade and industry by temperament; this proved to be an accurate prediction (Rollin: 241; Dening: 213-14).

Nevertheless, the French government ordered the commander of the French Pacific squadron stationed at Valparaiso, who was Rear Admiral Abel Dupetit-Thouars, to leave Valparaiso quietly at the end of March 1842 and to annex the Marquesas. Dupetit-Thouars left aboard the Reine-Blanche and was followed later by several of the remaining ships in the French Pacific squadron: Atalante, Thétis, Embuscade, Boussole, Triomphante, Camille, Adonis, and Bucéphale. The squadron as a whole had a crew of 3000 men and displayed 260 cannon; half a dozen merchant ships were chartered to supply the naval fleet that went to annex the Marquesas (Rollin: 242).

The Reine-Blanche arrived at Vaitahu Bay on the west coast of Tahuata on 28 April. Iotete, the haka'iki or chief, of Vaitahu Valley came aboard with an American whaler. Iotete was afraid that the French had come to carry out some sort of reprisal and he wanted the protection of "Peti-Tua" with whom he had exchanged names in 1838 when Dupetit-Thouars had landed the first French missionaries on Tahuata. Dupetit-Thouars



Abb. 11. UHIKANA-Muscheldiadem inmitten von Feder-
schmuck, KOUFAU-Holzohren und TAKIPONI-Kranz-
erbsenringkragen. Honu, Häuptling in Vaitahu, Tah. 1774.
Nach COOK.

had no trouble in talking Iotete into agreeing to an annexation ceremony on 1 May, which was Louis-Philippe's feast day (St Philip).

On the morning of 1 May, a company of French marines formed a square at a large public place in Vaitahu, while the Reine-Blanche fired her cannons at regular intervals. Iotete suddenly appeared "in a superb Louis XVI costume of plush red overlaid with golden epaulettes, a gift from the admiral. His large head was adorned with a kind of diadem, a gilded carton embellished with beads and surmounted by feathers of

diverse colors." His nephew Maheono was more soberly dressed in red cloth and sky-blue pants (Rollin: 244). After the Marquesans and Frenchmen had filed into place, the troops presented arms, and Dupetit-Thouars read the proclamation of annexation, followed by a salvo of muskets and cannon and the raising of the French flag to the notes of the "Marseillaise" (Rollin: 245).

The proclamation itself "by order of the King and. . . as told to the principal chiefs of the island of Tahuata" declared French possession of Tahuata "as well as all of the islands of the southeast Marquesas that are subordinate to it." The French flag was to be kept aloft and a garrison to be stationed there to protect it. The proclamation was signed by Dupetit-Thouars, Capt. E. Halley, who then became the first commandant on Tahuata, Fr Francois de Paule Baudichon, who interpreted and later became Vicar of the Marquesas, and chiefs Iotete and Maheono. (Annuaire 1915: 70).

After establishing a garrison at Vaitahu, Dupetit-Thouars visited Hiva Oa during the second week of May and then went on ~~to~~^{to} the Hakahau Valley on the northeast coast of Ua Pou from 29 to 31 May. The French arrived at Taiohae Bay on 31 May and read the proclamation of annexation on 1 June (Rollin: 248). Three chiefs of the Teii tribe of Taiohae Valley signed the proclamation, which was deemed to cover all six islands of the northwest group. Temoana, the foremost chief among the Teii, signed the proclamation since he needed French assistance; his young wife, Tahiaoko, had recently been kidnapped by the Taioa tribe of Hakau Valley west of Taiohae ~~and~~^{who} refused to give her up. Pakoko, a warrior chief who impressed the French with his statuesque physique, his fine tattooing and

his energetic, imperial mien, appreciated how much the French cannons and weapons ^{very} could help in battle. Niehitu, Temoana's uncle and the third one to sign, merely noted how much easier alcohol could be obtained under the new arrangement (Rollin: 249-50). The motives exhibited by these chiefs not only reveal their preoccupation with limited local concerns but also point the way to the major concerns Marquesans would generally have, or at least the concerns they were recorded as having, throughout the French military period, namely, valley warfare and alcohol.

FRENCH POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

The Marquesas had the first French administrators in the Pacific. Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars placed Capt. Halley in charge of the fort at Vaitahu, named Fort Halley in his honor, and Capt. Collet in charge of the garrison at Taiohae, likewise named Fort Collet for him, in May and June 1842; this was several months before Tahiti was annexed in September of that year. Naval Capt. Bruat was named Governor of the Marquesas on 8 January 1843 and was subsequently appointed Imperial Commissioner to the Queen of the Society Islands and Governor of the Établissement Français de l'Océanie on 17 April. At the same time, two Commandants were installed, one at Vaitahu for the southeast group and one at Taiohae for the northwest group. But the post at Vaitahu was permanently abolished in 1847, leaving only the Commandant at Taiohae, who was usually a naval lieutenant or the captain of a frigate (Annuaire 1888: 101, 103).

French Military Administrators in the Marquesas

Commandants, 1842-1860

At Vaitahu

At Taiohae

Capt. Halley, May - Sept 1842.

Capt. Laferrière, Sept 1842 - ?

Lt. Brunet, 1843 - 1845.

Capt. Clérier, 1845 - 22 June 1847.

Capt. Collet, June 1842 - 1843.

Chief Favereau, 1843 - ?

Capt. Dubuisson, ? - 1845.

Chief Amalric, 1845.

Lt. Brunet, 1845 - 1849.

Capt. A. Fournier, 1849.

Capt. S.-M.-E. Bolle, 1849.

Capt. Lévêque, ? - 17 Dec 1849.

Capt. Bolle, 1852 - ?

Lt. Laurent, 1854.

Lt. H. Jouan, 1854 - 1856.

Lt. F.-A. Rosenweig, 1856 - 1858.

Lt. H.-H. Martin, 1858.

Lt. F.-X.-H. Caillet, 1858.

Lt. de Kermel, 3 Nov 1858 - 24 Aug 1860

Residents, 1860-1885

Lt. de Kermel, 25 Aug 1860 - 1 Aug 1863.

Capt. Rousseau, Aug 1863 - Nov 1865.

Lt. Lachave, Nov 1865 - Feb 1866.

Lt. Laurent, July 1866 - Oct 1867.

Lt. Hippolyte, Oct 1867 - Dec 1868.

Lt. Eyriaud des Vergnes, Dec 1868 - Feb 1874.

Sub-Commissioner Eggiman, Feb 1874 - May 1875.

Lt. Doublet, May 1875 - Mar 1879.

Lt. Chastanié, Mar 1879 - Jan 1882.

Lt. Robert, Jan 1882 - July 1884.

Lt. Winter, July 1884 - Dec 1885.

French Military Administrators in the Marquesas

Administrators, 1885-1890

Lt. Winter, Dec 1885 - June 1886.

Lt. Leudet-Delavallée, 18 June 1886 - 5 July 1888.

Lt. Delaruelle, 5 July 1888 - 15 Jan 1889.

Curs, 15 Jan 1889 - 29 Aug 1890.

This administrative system was changed in the wake of a decree of 14 January 1860 that removed control of the Polynesian protectorates from the hands of a commandant of a subdivision of the French navy, where it had been placed by an earlier decree of 28 June 1849, and gave it to an Imperial Commissioner, who was in charge of the Marquesas, as well as military and naval affairs in Tahiti. His official title was Commandant of the Établissements Français de l'Océanie. The last Commandant under the old system at Taiohae was removed on 24 August 1860. But the same man, naval Lt. de Kermel, was appointed the first Resident Commissioner effective the next day (Annuaire 1888: 101-3, 161).

The final major change in the French administrative system before 1890 occurred after Pomare V ceded Tahiti to France on 29 June 1880. A decree of 5 July 1881 reestablished the position of Governor of Tahiti and its dependencies, including the Marquesas, where the title Resident Commissioner became Administrator in 1885, although that position continued to be held by the ^asame man, in this case Lt. Winter (Annuaire 1888: 102, 162).

By August 1890, when the first French civil administrator was installed, namely, Merlin, an administrator of the first class, the Marquesas already had an over-elaborate administration. The Administrator had a staff of eight men, and three naval officers continued to be assigned to him to handle administration. There were twelve gendarmes and a twenty-one man police force. Each tribe was to have a head chief, with Vaekehu, Temoana's widow, recognized as the foremost leader in the archipelago. There were boy's schools at Puamau, Hiva Oa, and Hatiheu, Nukuhiva, and girl's schools at Taiohae, Atuona, Hiva Oa, and Hanavave, Fatuhiva. Both Nukuhiva and Hiva Oa had justices of the peace, public defenders and bailiffs. One Mr. Le Grives was both jailer and harbor master at Taiohae, where the naval schooner Nuhiva was stationed under the command of a naval lieutenant. There were committees of agriculture and sanitation. Finally, each of ten civil districts had its own French district officer. The ten districts were: Ua Huka, Ua Pou, Tahuata, Fatuhiva, two on Nukuhiva (one including Taiohae, Hakaui, Taipi and Hocumi Valleys, and one including the rest of the island), and four on Hiva Oa (one for Atuona, Hanamate and Taao Valleys; one for Hekeani, Hanapehe and Hanahupe Valleys; one for Puamau, Nahoe, Motua, Hanape and Hanapaua Valleys; and one for Hanamenu, Hanaiapa and Hanatekua Valleys) (Annuaire 1888: 162-66).

Official policy for the Marquesas languished for two decades before the Imperial Commissioner in Tahiti took a serious interest in civil affairs there in 1863. Only two ordinances^{nances} dealing with the Marquesas were proclaimed in the 1840s. A decree of 28 April 1843 said crimes against Marquesans were

to be handled in traditional ways, whereas ~~crimes~~ against non-Marquesans were to be tried before a War Council. A presidential decree of 28 July 1849 ordered the abandonment of the garrison at Taiohae, although it would be reoccupied three years later, leaving the group to the Catholic missionaries and private traders without the benefit of any military presence to enforce law and order (Rollin: 258, 260).

After some prompting by Bishop Dordillon to get it passed, an ordinance of 16 August 1858 banned tattooing, orgies, fermenting coconut juice and dessicating corpses. But later, under Resident de Kermel, this law was somewhat ~~repealed~~ ^{relaxed} when he permitted traditional feasts and the sale of spirits (Rollin: 263).

Because of an increasing^e in fighting throughout the archipelago in 1861 and 1862, Imperial Commissioner Gaultier de la Richerie (Jan 1860-Dec 1863) appointed Bishop Dordillon to be Director of Native Affairs for the Marquesas in March 1863 and ordered the Resident not to interfere in civil matters but instead to let the missionaries handle them. The Resident was to run the port, handle external affairs, and to act as justice of the peace. Taiohae was named the seat of government. The Director of Native Affairs was to carry out measures "softening indigenous manners" and to tend the herd of cattle. A Commissioner of Public Instruction was appointed to direct schools for children at Taiohae. A newspaper, the Messenger des Iles Marquises, was to be published in Marquesan and distributed to all inhabited islands (Rollin: 265-67). By an order of 20 March 1863, de la Richerie also appointed the head chief of Nukuhiva

to rule over the entire Marquesan population. Village chiefs were held^d responsible for their valleys, and each valley was to have a chief, a judge, a mutoi, and two advisers, the last three being chosen by the Director of Native Affairs (Rollin: 267). Tattooing, drinking fermented coconut juice and pagan feasts were once again proscribed because of the troubles of the previous two years (Bund: 43).

But the French quickly changed their mind about alcohol despite these bitter experiences^d with its effect on Marquesans. Imperial Commissioner de la Roncière (Dec 1863-June 1869) legalized traditional modes of dress and spirits in July 1867 (Bund: 45; Rollin: 270-71). He also relieved Bishop Dordillon of his duties as Director of Native Affairs^d in 1865 and created the post of Officer of Civil Affairs to take over from him. Civil marriages had to be performed among Marquesans before they^d could get married in church. The Resident was ordered to purchase cotton on behalf of the Agricultural Fund of Tahiti and send it to Pape'ete aboard naval vessels (Rollin: 270).

After Chevalier, commander of the Rance, had vainly attempted to suppress distillation of coconut sap, which was the "origin of continual crimes", in July 1871, Resident Eggiman once again banned alcohol, as well as tattooing and the sale of guns. He also ordered schools opened in all valleys with missionaries, and school children to be given biscuits^d and clothing. (The schools were, in fact, only open in 1876 and 1877.) His order was later altered to providing schools only at the four important centers. Anyone debarking in the Marquesas, French or foreign, had to declare themselves to the Resident or pay^d a fine (Rollin: 272-73).

French metropolitan penal codes were applied to the Marquesas beginning in March 1877. Finally, civil affairs were reorganized in April 1882, and ten districts were formed in February 1884 (Rollin: 274, 276).

THE NORTHWEST ISLANDS (NUKUHIVA, UA PCU): 1839 - 1890

The Picpus Mission had been served with a papal decree in 1833 to convert the peoples of the South Seas; they came to the Marquesas first (Steinen: 35). The first missionaries to the northwest group arrived in 1839, three years before annexation was carried out and one year after the first three Picpus missionaries had established themselves at Vaitahu in August 1838.

By the time the missionaries arrived, the northwest islands had already experienced decades of depopulation. According to Edward Robarts, a beachcomber who lived ^{on Tahuata and Nukuhiva} ~~at various islands~~ from 1798 to 1806, there was a severe famine during ^{this} ~~the~~ time on ^{Ua Pou and Nukuhiva} ~~the islands~~ that left hundreds dead on Ua Pou and Nukuhiva alone (Robarts: 118-20). Dening estimates that droughts recurred from 1801 to 1812 that "devasted" Ua Pou and might have removed up to two-thirds of the people on Nukuhiva; nearly as many might have died on Tahuata due to starvation from 1796 to 1812 (Dening: 239). Given these disasters, which were the result of natural conditions exacerbated by the practice of chopping down the breadfruit trees and other food crops of one's enemies during the continual valley wars, it is hard to blame foreigners for the depopulation of this Pacific island people.

Westerners can be blamed for introducing diseases and alcohol that was many times more potent than the alcoholic beverages the Marquesans had been using; the Chinese bear the guilt for ^{bringing} in opium, which was, in the late 1880s, referred to as the currency of the ^{islands} ~~state~~ (Stevenson: Ch. VIII). Because of the limited population and land area, abuse of

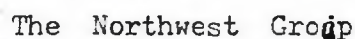
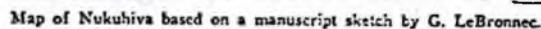
these drugs was ^{most} ~~more~~ conspicuous to outsiders; even so, there seems to have been something in the Marquesan character that led to intravalley, as opposed to intervalley, violence and murder once valley populations have been sufficiently reduced to eliminate any hope of restoring a ^a ~~balance~~ of power among valleys.

A missionary with over forty years of experience in the Marquesas said depopulation was ^{due} ~~due~~ to the four causes of phthisis (la phthisie), drugs (alcohol and opium), adoption and the "depravation of customs", or what would now be called culture change (Bund: 5102). Undoubtedly, Marquesans died of the first two causes and the last one might have indirectly contributed to malaise among the people, which might have been a breeding ground for more specific ills. But all four causes acted within a situation already rendered deplorable by drought and famine.

Yet other causes were other ^{diseases} ~~diseases~~. Tuberculosis and influenza were introduced early; Denning regards them as the two most fatal diseases there. Filariasis and leprosy, which the Chinese who were brought in in the 1860s and 1870s to work on Stewart's cotton plantation on Nukuhiva were also blamed for introducing, first appeared in the 1860s (Denning: 240).

But smallpox did ^away with more Marquesans in a single epidemic than any other disease. In the 1860s, workers were in short supply for the mines in Peru. As a result, private labor recruiters, sometimes supported by the ^{Peruvian} government but not as a rule, set out to recruit or kidnap Pacific Islanders. Two such ships, the Empresa and Adelante, came to Controller's Bay at the southeast corner of Nukuhiva in December 1862. They first picked up a ^{woman} who acted as their interpreter. Since they had no luck in southern Nukuhiva, they sailed off for other bays. The Adelante picked up five men at Iatiheu Valley on the northeast coast of Nukuhiva, while the Empresa signed on five recruits at Ua Pou and kidnapped six men and eight women at Ua Pou, six men from Puamau Bay on the northeast coast of Hiva Oa while they were intoxicated, and one man from Tahuata (Maude: 34-6; Rollin: 268). After the French government had made representations to the Peruvian government, a French dispatch boat, the Diamant, was sent to Peru to pick up the unfortunate islanders.

The Diamant picked up twenty-nine people at Peru but most of them were not from the Marquesas. Of these twenty-nine, fourteen died en route, some of them from smallpox, and the other fifteen were quarantined in the administration building at Taiohae after arriving there in August 1863. Four of them were from Mangaia Island, two from Easter Island, and one each from Atiu, Tahiti and Tongareva. Only ^{six} ~~five~~ were Marquesans. Because their makeshift quarantine area was broken into, the smallpox infection spread and spread quickly. From 20 August 1863 until late March 1864, over 1500 Marquesans died, 960 on Nukuhiva and 600 on Ua Pou (Maude: 159, 179; Denning: 232; Bund: 43-4; Rollin: 269).



The northwest islands never recovered from this epidemic. Isolated murders and cases of cannibalism kept on for some more years; in particular, *events* at Hatiheu Valley continued to trouble the French authorities. But no serious valley fighting was waged after 1864. In effect, smallpox pacified the northwest islands for the French.

Back in the 1840s, in 1844, a second company of Picpus missionaries arrived. They were stationed at Ua Pou. At that time, the island had a reputation for being more docile than the other islands in the archipelago. Nouahita Heato, who had managed to become chief of the whole island, was friendly to foreigners and had placed a kopahi ban on the killing of any foreigners. One Capt. Fowler claimed his life had been spared ^{because} ~~because~~ of this, and French, Tahitian and American missionaries later received his protection (Denig: 195). But Heato, who was to be the only island chief Ua Pou ever had, died in December 1844. His death was followed by unrest among the people of Ua Pou and caused Frs. Crens Frécho^u and Ildefonse Dordillon, who arrived there in 1844, to be uneasy. Fr Frécho^u's life was threatened three times in December 1844, and he had to be rescued on 31 December by Capt. Dubuisson, Commandant at Taiohae (Bund: 38; Rollin: 258)

Fighting erupted between the Naiki people of Hakahau Valley in northeastern Ua Pou and the Atipapa tribe of Hakamui Valley on the east coast in June 1846. It was not stopped until the Pape'ete arrived on 13 August with Temoana, Lt. Brunet, who was then Commandant ^{ant} ~~ant~~ at Taiohae, and Bishop Baudichon, who had been named Vicar of the Marquesas and Tahiti

on 21 December 1845. They managed to arrange a truce among nine different tribes on 14 August (Rollin: 259; Bund: 38-9). Fighting broke out among the same two tribes again in 1850 (Rollin: 260). Autoro, a South American who had assisted the Empresa when she called at Ua Pou in December 1862, was killed for having done so in the ~~same~~^{next} year (Maude: 179).

Despite these troubles, the French missionaries regarded the people of Ua Pou as gentle by comparison with the peoples of the rest of the islands. But in the opinion of Max Radiguet, who was a member of Dupetit-Thouars's party in 1842, "That reputation seemed overrated to ~~us~~^{us}, and the good nature of the people of Ua Pou did not exceed that of wolves, which, if one may hazard a proverb here, do everything except eat each other" (Radiguet: 51). It is pertinent^{ne} to add in the context of Radiguet's remark that the people of Ua Pou were also known to be especially fond of human flesh (Bund: 38-9).

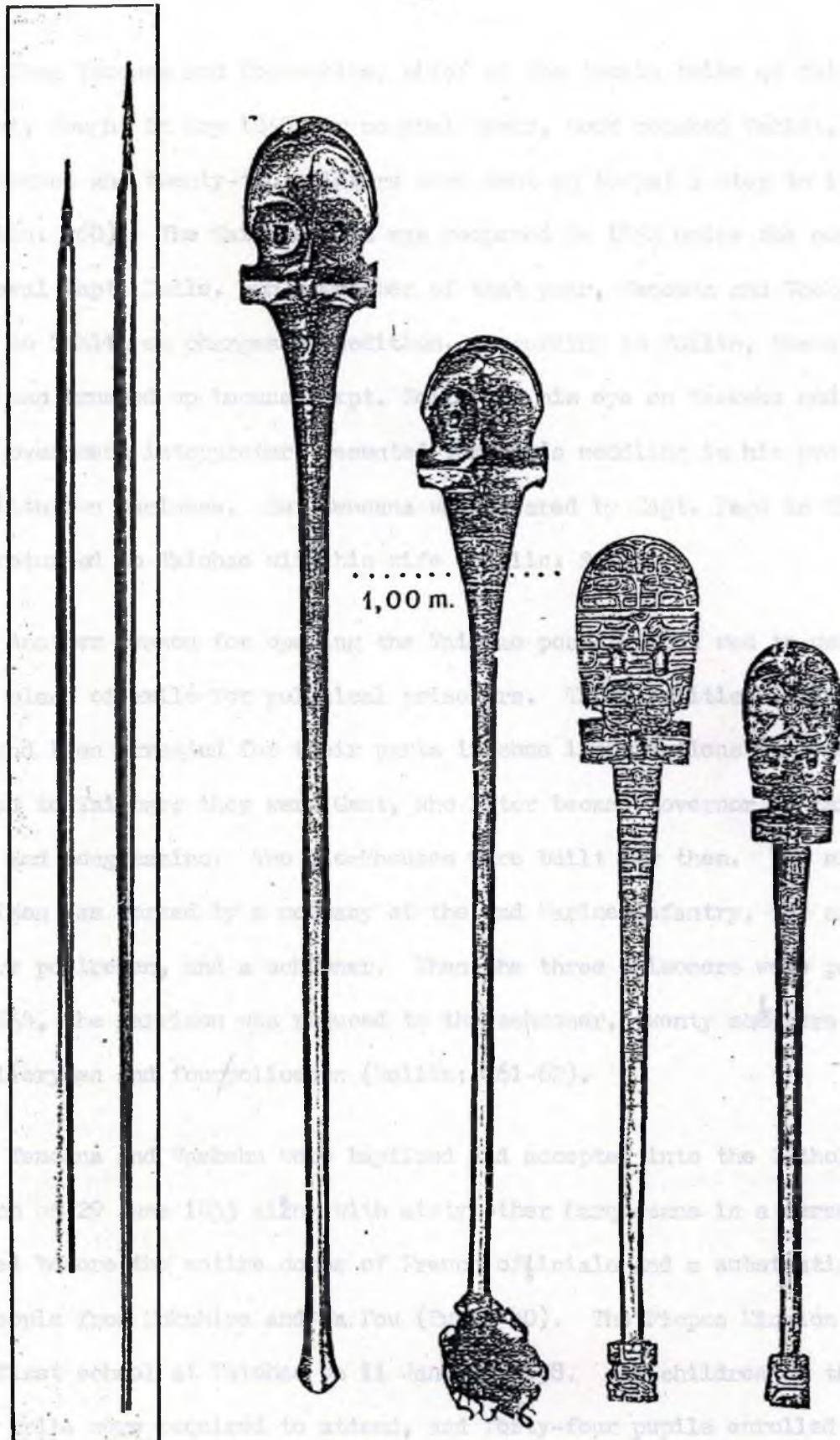
Because of mounting problems, the missionaries left Ua Pou in 1847 and concentrated their efforts on Nukuhiva, where the French military garrison was stationed. Once Nukuhiva had been claimed for France on 1 June 1842¹, Fort Collet had been built on an eminence known as Tuhiva. On 4 June, the Triomphante arrived after having called at Mangareva to attend the inauguration of a cathedral. She landed a company of marine infantry and artillerymen at Taiohae. The Triomphante was soon followed by the Jules-César, a merchant vessel contracted by the French navy to carry supplies and livestock, and the two corvettes Boussole and Embuscade, which landed a contingent of two hundred men. On 20 July, the provisional camp at

Nakapehi Valley, which the French had acquired from Temoana, was abandoned, and Fort Collet was occupied. The fort had a stone wall, a ditch three meters deep and seven cannons (Rollin: 248-53).

During the first years of occupation, things went smoothly for the French. Capt. Collet was an equitable man; he listened to disputes impartially and let accused parties have their say before passing judgement. He also respected tapu (Rollin: 256).

The first major incident on Nukuhiva after annexation occurred in 1845 when Commandant Amalric and Temoana enforced a ban they had ^{placed}~~placed~~ on women visiting ships anchored at Taiohae after dark. The ban did not prevent sixteen ^{women}~~women~~ from sneaking out to a ship, and they were later jailed for this offense. As it happened, one of the ^{women}~~women~~ was a relative of Pakoko, the chief of Haavao Valley who had signed the deed of annexation. In retaliation for her jailing, Pakoko and some other men slew five Frenchmen as they were washing clothes in the Vaitu River. Their mutilated bodies were recovered at a meae stone platform at Koueva. Pakoko was captured and condemned to death by firing squad. After his execution, two valleys in the neighborhood of Taiohae (Haavao and Pakiu Valleys) were confiscated (Rollin: 258-59).

The first Picpus missionaries of a second company arrived on Nukuhiva in November 1848. They were Fr. Dordillon, who ^{succeeded}~~succeeded~~ Bishop Baudichon in February 1857 and who remained in the Marquesas until his death on 21 December 1888, and Dr. Alexis (Dund: 39). But in the following year, because of troubles in Tahiti, the garrison at Taiohae was ^{ordered}~~ordered~~ abandoned and the French troops left for Tahiti on 17 December 1849.



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When Temoana and Hopevehine, chief of the Ahunia tribe of Taiohae Valley, fought in May 1850 for several weeks, word reached Tahiti, and Lt. Bonnot and twenty-two soldiers were sent up to put a stop to it (Rollin: 260). The Taiohae post was reopened in 1852 under the command of Naval Capt. Bolle. On 8 October of that year, Temoana and Vaekehu were sent to Tahiti on charges of sedition. According to Rollin, these charges had been trumped up because Capt. Bolle had his eye on Vaekehu and Kotto, the government interpreter, resented Temoana's meddling in his profitable prostitution business. But Temoana was cleared by Capt. Page in Tahiti and returned to Taiohae with his wife (Rollin: 260-61).

Another reason for opening the Taiohae post in 1852 was to use it as a place of exile for political prisoners. Three political prisoners who had been arrested for their parts in some insurrections in Lyons were exiled to Taiohae; they were Gent, who later became Governor of Martinique, Mode and Longomazino. Two blockhouses were built for them. The military garrison was formed by a company of the 2nd Marine Infantry, ten artillerymen, twelve policemen, and a schooner. When the three prisoners were pardoned in 1854, the garrison was reduced to the schooner, twenty soldiers, two artillerymen and four policemen (Rollin: 261-62).

Temoana and Vaekehu were baptized and accepted into the Catholic Church on 29 June 1853 along with sixty other Marquesans in a ceremony staged before the entire corps of French officials and a substantial number of people from Nukuhiva and Ua Pou (Dund: 40). The Picpus Mission opened its first school at Taiohae on 11 January 1858. All children of the local Teii tribe were required to attend, and forty-four pupils enrolled. A girl's school was opened at Taiohae later that year. The twenty soldiers still at the garrison were sent back to Tahiti on 3 November (Rollin: 263).

The last Commandant^{at} at Taiohae, de Kermel, worked closely with the missionaries when he first arrived and fostered ^{the} most of the their aims. Whereas Capt. Collet, the most successful of the previous Commandants, had tolerated most traditional practices, de Kermel took the opposite course at first. "The mission was supported by government prohibitions: against all pagan tapu, nudity, tattooing, obscene dancing, yes, against bamboo flutes and mouth harps, against kava and, in the end, against opium, then against spirits, which finally replaced a comparatively harmless intoxicating drink used at traditional feasts and became the most common and expensive commodity!" (Steinen: 40)

For some reason Resident^{at} de Kermel repealed these measures proscribing traditional practices and the sale of alcohol in 1861. This opened the way for a final decade of violence in the northwest group, which finally came to an end because of the drastic effects of the smallpox epidemic of 1863-64. The missionaries claimed never to have seen anything like the debauchery that they^{at} witnessed in 1861 and 1862. Within that time, twenty people had drunk themselves to death; thirty-five were assassinated and nineteen roasted and eaten; two valleys were scorched, as well as three chapels, a school and two parsonages. In a few cases, people were reported to have eaten their own children under the influence of alcohol. Two American deserters were singled out for special blame here because they had taught the people how to distill their own liquor from coconut sap (Lund: 42-3).

As part of the unrest, the Atotoka tribe of Aakapa Valley on the northcentral coast of Mukuhiwa began a series of raids and drinking bouts during the course of which they captured and ate seven people from the Fua tribe of Hakaehu Valley to the west. Neither Fr. Pierre Chaulet nor

Resident de Kermel could relieve the situation. After their efforts had failed, the Atikea tribe of Hatiheu Valley east of Aakapa Valley joined in and attacked another tribe in the valley. This time, Fr. Chaulet succeeded in arranging a truce after the second tribe had been routed and bottled up in the mountains. The fierce Taipi (Melville's 'Typee') even menaced the Resident's quarters in Taiohae for a time, but Temoana's forces counterattacked, captured a Taipi warrior and ate him (Rollin: 264-65).

Temoana, who was born in 1821, died of pleurisy in September 1863. He was succeeded by Stanislaus Moanatini, whom he had adopted in May 1879 and who died on 16 December 1893. Vaekehu, Temoana's widow, lived on as the most influential Marquesan of all until her death in June 1901 at the age of 78.

In 1864, the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny, who had been entrusted with the education of Marquesan girls, arrived and later opened a school at Taiohae; eighty girls enrolled initially (Bund: 43, 45).

Because of the troubles in 1861 and 1862, drinking of alcohol and some traditional practices were banned by French officials. But the bans were withdrawn in 1867. As a result, the final serious trouble in the northwest group in the military period occurred in Hatiheu Valley that year. A man named Tikipoeka was killed and offered as a human sacrifice at a tattooing ceremony on 24 October. The French authorities sent the Guichem up to Fukuhiwa; she shelled the valley, burned the huts of those responsible, and exiled the two principal murderers to Tahiti (Bund: 45; Rollin: 271; Denning: 260).

Except for some minor disturbances in Hatiheu Valley in the mid-1870s,

during which Resident Eggiman imprisoned some people from there "which made a great impression on the Mukuhiwans", the period of French military rule ended as quietly as it had begun (Rollin: 273). In January 1869, Resident Eyriaud des Vergnes ordered all boys on Mukuhiwa to attend school in Hatiheu. Monthly ship service was instituted in 1870 by the Crawford Co. on its San Francisco to Pape'ete run. At a name exchange ceremony held in Hakaui Valley in southwestern Mukuhiwa, Eyriaud des Vergnes entrusted Stanislaus with all civil affairs of the island (Rollin: 271-73).



Traditional Marquesan Dress.

THE SOUTHEAST ISLANDS (TAHUATA, FATUNIVA, HIVA OA): 1838 - 1890

The southeast group was the first to be visited by foreigners. French mission activity also started here. In August 1838, Dupetit-Thouars hove to off Vaitahu. Here, he landed three Picpus missionaries -- Frs. Dosithée Desvaut and Louis Forcella and Fr. Nil Laval -- on 4 August. They were to inaugurate what was to become an uninterrupted French Catholic presence in the Marquesas that has lasted to the present. The first Mass was celebrated on 15 August. (Dening (305-06) has a nearly complete list of French missionaries who came to the Marquesas from 1838 to 1880.)

Six more Picpus missionaries, among them Fr. Paudichon, arrived on 3 February 1839; most of them went to the northwest islands, but Fr. Paudichon remained in charge on Tahuata even after his northerly colleagues had ~~abandoned~~ ^{abandoned} their Marquesan mission field for Tahiti and Hawaii (Dund: 35-6). During the annexation proceedings three years later, Fr. Paudichon served as the official interpreter. Maheono, one of the two chiefs to sign the deed of annexation and chief of Hanatetena Valley on the east coast of Tahuata, had exchanged names with Fr. Paudichon, just as Iotete, chief of Vaitahu Valley and the other chief to sign the deed, had done with "Peti-Tua". The French, of course, unilaterally extended the deed to cover the entire southeast group, even though it had only been signed by chiefs from Tahuata (Rollin: 244-46; Radiguet: 13).

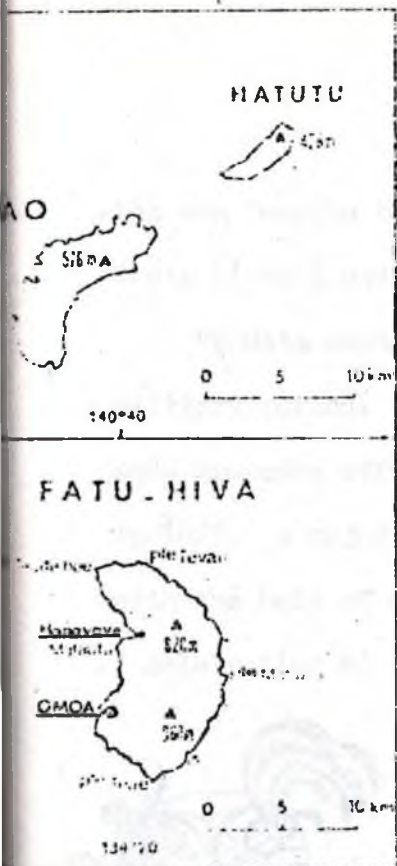
Iotete gave the French a small hill separating Vaitahu from Hanamiai Valley to the south. Frigate Capt. Halley was placed in charge of a two-

hundred-man garrison made up of the 120th Marines, naval artillerymen, quartermaster specialists, second-in-command Lt. Lafon de Ladébat and Le Lâtard, a surgeon. The soldiers slept on hammocks inside huts, while their officers slept inside cells. The establishment of Fort Halley upset Iotete and others. As a result, they withdrew up the valley around 1 July and remained there for several months despite French pleas for them to return to the coast. On 15 September, Commandant Halley gave Iotete's tribe one day to return to their own homes. After Iotete had rejected this order by sending Halley a baton decorated with tapa, the French decided to fight the Marquesans into submission. On 17 September, three columns of troops were formed and marched up the valley. Lt. Ladébat headed the left column, which drew enemy fire first. Ladébat was killed and five others wounded. Commandant Halley, in charge of the middle column, was also shot and killed. Later, the Marquesans fled their positions, but none were captured. The next day, Fort Halley was assaulted, ~~and~~ ^{and} the Marquesans were bombarded by grapeshot from the Eucéphale and retreated, but not until the French defenders of the fort had had to use their bayonets to protect themselves.

The commander of the Eucéphale managed to ~~get~~ ^{send} a canoe ~~with~~ ^{commanded by} Ensign Prouhet ~~and~~ ^{with} ten other marines to the Boussole, which was anchored off Taiohae. The Boussole sailed over to reinforce the Vaitahu garrison. This increased French might, as well as Fr. Paudichon's peace-making efforts, resulted in a truce. The terms of the peace were that the French would stay out of Vaitahu and Hanamiai Valleys, that Iotete would stay at

Hapatoni Valley well to the south of Vaitahu, and that Maheono would be recognized as head chief of Tahuata under the direction of the French Commandant there, who was at that time corvette Capt. Laferrière. In all, twenty-six Frenchmen had been wounded, and Ladébat and Halley killed. The two officers were buried atop a hill two hundred meters from shore, and a wall was built around their graves. Most of the Marquesans from Vaitahu moved down to Hapatoni to be with Iotete or over to Hanatetena to be with Maheono (Rollin: 247-55).

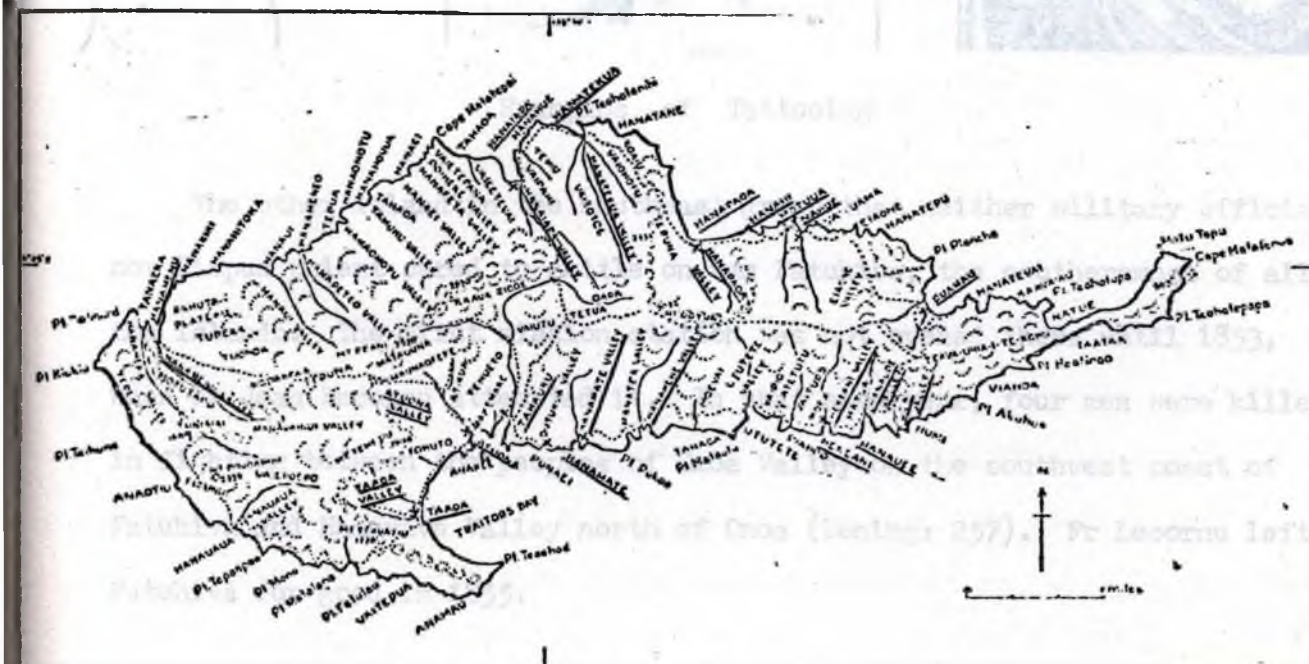
Mission work progressed slowly on Tahuata. After nearly four years of effort there were only a dozen converts in 1842, the year of annexation, and as Radiguet commented then, "among them can one find even one who holds his faith seriously and selflessly?" (Radiguet: 13) During the next four years, mission results, what Dening calls "the arithmetic of salvation" (Dening: 183), seemed to be improving. In 1846 alone, twenty-five people were baptized and thirty-seven confirmed; fourteen took their first communion (Bund: 38). Nevertheless, because the remaining seventy-seven French troops were scheduled to leave Tahuata in 1847 -- they actually departed aboard the schooner Sultane on 22 June -- Mgr Eudichon ordered the Picpus staff to evacuate Tahuata and to settle in the northwest group. Apparently, the troops departed because they were needed in Tahiti and because they were unable to control the pillaging, arson and cannibalism that was rife. Maheono himself, who had been baptized on 25 December 1844, later ate human flesh in the summer of 1845 and, after the troops had left, was forced to flee to Mukuhiwa with



Map of Tahiti redrawn from a manuscript sketch map by G. LeBroon.

The South^{east} Group

48

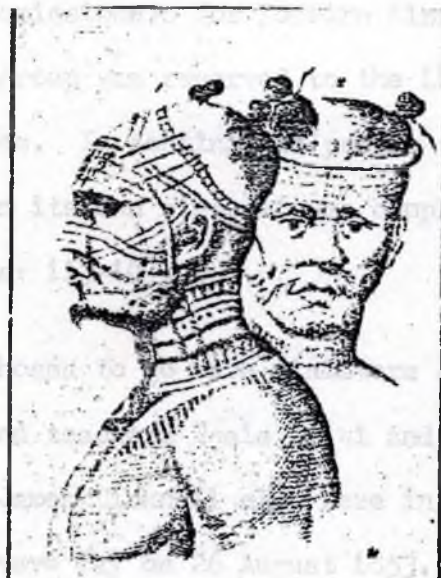


Sketch map of Hivaoa based on a survey by G. Bonno.

his son Teapehu because of the threats other Marquesans were making on their lives (Dund: 38; Rollin: 260).

Tahuata seems to have been virtually left alone for the rest of the military period. Beginning in 1847, the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny made sporadic efforts to run schools on Tahuata, but even they finally left in 1863. A major battle occurred in late August 1877, which was settled with the help of some returning Picpus missionaries in October.

A celebration of the peace was held at Vaitahu on 1 November (Rollin: 274).



Examples of Tattooing

The other island in the southeast group that neither military official nor Picpus priest cared to settle on was Fatuhiva, the southernmost of all the islands. The first mission station was not opened there until 1853, when Fr Jean Lecornu attempted it. In that same year, four men were killed in fighting between the peoples of Omoa Valley on the southwest coast of Fatuhiva and Hanavave Valley north of Omoa (Dening: 257). Fr Lecornu left Fatuhiva for good in 1855.

In the meantime, Matunui, a chief from Hanavave Valley, had gone to Lahaina, ^{Masii} ~~Hawaii~~, in 1853 to ask that Protestant missionaries be sent to Fatuhiva; Matunui claimed his people hated the French Catholics (Tagupa: 114). The Sandwich Island Mission (SIM) decided to send four Hawaiian couples and two American couples to Fatuhiva to attempt evangelization. This was in line with a renewal of missionary concern in the South Pacific that the SIM had committed itself to in 1851. It was also in line with the terms of an 1832 agreement between the London Missionary Society (^{LMS} ~~LSM~~) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), according to which the northwest group was reserved to the LMS and the southeast group for ABCFM missionaries. In sending its people to Fatuhiva, however, the SIM was acting on its own since it was completely independent of the ABCFM by then (Tagupa: 113-14).

The Hawaiian^s chosen to go were ministers James Hunnewell Kekela and Samuel Kauwealcha, and teachers Isaia Kaiwi and Lota Kuaihelani. Rev. Benjamin Parker and James Dicknell also were in this Protestant company. They arrived at Hanavave Bay on 26 August 1853. Five days later, a French warship arrived, and the French authorities questioned them closely before allowing them to ^{to} ~~say~~, much to the consternation of the Catholic priest aboard (Tagupa: 114).

Although Matunui had been most encouraging while in Lahaina, the Protestants disappointed him once they had settled in Hanavave. They did not distribute goods as the Catholics did to get Marquesans to attend church or to practice their ecclesiastical rituals. The constant valley warfare did not allow a fair chance for mission work to gain ground.

Matunui himself was not a model convert, as he sacrificed to the pagan gods of Omoa Valley at a time when Manavave faced certain defeat at the hands of a 750-man troop of Omoa and Evaeva warriors (Tagupa: 115-16).

Besides these internal troubles, the Protestants also faced supply shortages since the mission vessel did not make frequent runs to Fatuhiva until the early 1860s. At one point in the late 1850s, the ship found the Americans and Hawaiians near starvation. Even after regular supply runs began, food was still scarce for most years. The Fatuhiva mission effort seems to have been entirely abandoned and most of the Protestants to have returned to Hawaii by 1866 (Tagupa: 117).

✶ The Picpus mission returned to Fatuhiva about a decade after the Protestants had left. Fr. Emmeran Schulte arrived in November 1877, but because of what were described as continual orgies, Fr. Schulte withdrew in 1878. By then, a new wave of human sacrifices and cruelties between Manavave and Omoa Valleys had become intense. It reached its peak in October 1878 and did not subside until August 1879, by which time the combatants had exhausted themselves (Rollin: 274; Bund: 50).

Before the end of the military period, a third, successful, attempt at establishing a station on Fatuhiva was made. Fr Olivier Gimbert arrived in 1885, six years after the brutal civil war, and he seems to have remained a long time, although no written confirmation of his length of service on Fatuhiva has been found (Bund: 50).



Traditional Marquesan Dress.

Both Fatuhiva and Tahuata presented serious problems for French military officials and missionaries alike. But these were minor in comparison with those on Hiva Ca, the largest and most populous island at that time. From the time of earliest contact with foreigners, Hiva Ca had earned a reputation as a hostile island with the additional disadvantages of more civil war and of fewer food resources than any island in the archipelago. It was left virtually alone at the time of annexation. Rear Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, Max Radiguet, Capt. Halley, and Fr Baudichon did indeed cruise around the island in the second week of May 1842.

At one southern bay, they saw several women whose bodies had been colored a shade of green in preparation for a koika feast by repeated application⁴ of specially ^{re}pared coconut oil. At Manamenu Bay at the northwestern corner of Hiva Oa, several chiefs had asked them to set up a French military post, but nothing was done about this. Nothing else of note occurred between the French and the Hiva Cans^A ^{for} over a ^{decade} after this visit (Radiguet: 43-5).

Finally, Fr Lecornu, who had fled from Fatuhiva, decided to set up a station at Puamau Valley in no^rtheastern Hiva Oa, which was the most populous and aggressive valley on the island. He arrived there in August 1855. At that time^{me}, the total island population of Hiva Oa was estimated around 6000 people renowned for ^{their} superstitiousness and cannibalism.

In a move that probably reflects the practice of particular tribes playing along with rival churches as a means of trying to defeat their enemies, Tahueta, the chief of a tribe in Puamau Valley, visited ^Afatuhiva in 1856 and asked if one of the Protestants ^{would} move to Puamau; James Kekela then moved to Puamau^o (T^Agupa: 116).

In 1857, wa^v was being waged in Hanaupe Valley on the southeast coast. When Bishop Dordillon investigated in September, he discovered that the problem had originated in Mahoe Valley on the north coast, where two American deserters -- and some deserters did deserve the opprobrium the French reserved for them as people "who poisoned the archipelago" -- had distilled liquor from coconut sap (Rollin: 256, 262).

In his role as Director of Native Affairs (March 1863 to 1865), Mgr Dordillon hoped to begin a system of remunerative work and education to pacify Hiva Oa. Cotton growing was resumed in 1863, after it had been tried out in the northwest group as early as 1849. The first cotton shipment from Puamau Valley was sent to Tahiti in January 1864 aboard the Marquisienne, a twenty-three ton schooner the mission had purchased the previous year. The Marquisienne was later lost at Uea Bay in southwestern Mukuhiwa, which was subsequently known as 'Marquisienne Bay' (Rollin: 268-69). Because of the endemic fighting, cotton growing failed to catch on or to fulfill its purpose despite an auspicious start. So, in 1880, Dordillon ordered the mission to abandon it and to hand it over to Marquesans and colonists (Dund: 46-8).

The second measure for "softening the manners" of the people of Hiva Oa, education, did not get off the ground until the 1880s.

Although Hiva Oa escaped the 1863-64 smallpox epidemic that ravaged the northwest group, it did experience a minor epidemic in 1866. James Kekela was blamed for this, and as he reported, missionaries were blamed for much else besides: "They said, 'These sicknesses we have, have come from you -- syphilis..., blight, leprosy and other physical ills'. The same is true concerning the land, if it is dry, with no rain...with fallen breadfruit, the missionaries are at fault -- fleas, colix, mosquitoes, flies, centipede^s -- these were brought by the missionaries in their barrels from Oahu" (Tagupa: 118). Kekela, who must have been dedicated to saving Marquesans and had incomparable devotion to duty, remained at Puamau until 1899, when he finally returned to Hawaii "almost totally blind and severely infirm of body" (Tagupa: 118).

From June 1867 until April 1880, the people of Hiva Oa, mainly those on the north coast and in particular from Puamau Valley, engaged in an inexplicable campaign of senseless warfare aggravated by alcoholic binges and inhuman atrocities. Dening refers to this time as one of "extravagant violence....stripped of its form and function" that ended Marquesan culture as it had been lived down to that time (Dening: 241, 251, 261, 303). The refusal of the French to step in and to pacify Hiva Oa earlier than they did is perhaps the biggest indictment that can be brought against them. Yet, the Marquesans seem to have been determined to wage continual valley warfare for which they had no one to blame but themselves and which nearly depopulated Hiva Oa. The true reasons for this will probably never be known.

By June 1875, Fr Dominique Fournon estimated that five hundred people had died in the fighting or from drink. Dening reports that three hundred Marquesans in both groups of islands were killed from 1853 to 1880. Of these, half died on Hiva Oa; Puamau Valley alone lost forty in 1876 and twenty-seven in 1879 (Dund: 46-7; Dening: 258-59).

Nineteen separate incidents have been recorded as taking place on Hiva Oa from June 1867 to April 1880: at Puamau Valley in June 1867, June 1871 when the "coconut rage has spread among all the kanakas, men, women, and children" (Rollin: 272), June 1874, July 1874, September 1874, 1876, and April 1880; at Hanapaoa Valley in June 1871, March 1874, 1878, June 1879, and March 1880; at Hanaupe Valley in June 1874, and 1876; at Atuona in December 1875; at Coa Valley in August 1876 when a live baby was dismembered by three men (Rollin: 274); and at Hanaiapa Valley in 1869, June 1879 when a Swede was killed at the mission station and eaten (Rollin: 274), and January 1880.



11



12a



12b



16c



17a



17b



18a



Tiki made of human bones

The killing of the Swede was the crucial event that brought in the French to stay in the southeast group. When Commander Elenaine of the La Motte-Picquet failed to arrest the Swede's murderers with his thirty-six-man troop, he returned to Tahiti and came back with twenty-six soldiers for a permanent garrison at Tahuku Valley just east of Atuona. The small garrison was assaulted on 21 November and 10 December 1879 and again on 5 January 1880 by the Uaivi tribe of Hanaiapa. But the Uaivi failed to capture the post largely because of the saving efforts of Fr Anschaire (Rollin: 274-76).

The French must have realized at this late date the need for protecting the garrison at all costs and for pacifying Hiva Oa once and for all. In any event, Admiral Lergeze Dupetit-Thouars, a nephew of the Dupetit-Thouars who had annexed the Marquesas, was placed in charge of a full-scale expedition to disarm Hiva Oa and to establish order. The Victorieuse with 400 men, the Dayot with 160 men, the Chasseur with 160 men, 120 Tahitians and 200 Marquesans from the northwest group arrived under his command at Atuona in June 1880. All guns on Hiva Oa were confiscated. The Haamau Plateau was confiscated, and the central ridges of the island were fortified. Military posts were built at Fuanau and Hanaiapa. The use of sacred places and alcohol was banned; no one could leave his valley without permission. All able-bodied men had to build roads and all children to go to school. This state of siege was officially proclaimed over in 1882, the year when civil affairs were reorganized, but it lasted, in fact, until 1889 (Denig: 261; Rollin: 275-76; Le Cleach: 27).

CONCLUSION

As the foregoing accounts of the history of the northwest and southeast groups show, French influence in the Marquesas was indeed beneficial for the Marquesans. French Catholic missionaries tried to educate the people; they ministered to them during their illnesses, especially during the 1863-64 smallpox epidemic, and they tried to save their souls in ways acceptable during their time. The French military authorities tried to maintain a semblance of law and order wherever they could; they removed deserters and finally used an armed force of over a thousand men to complete pacification of the Marquesas, which concluded the military period and also marked the end of social life as the Marquesans had known it until then.

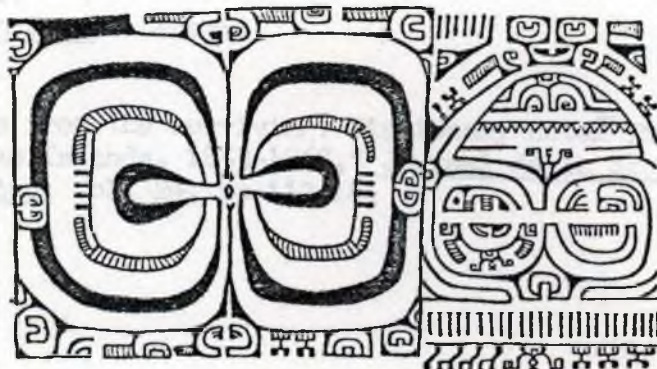
The Marquesas never lived up to the expectation of becoming the important port-of-call that the French government of 1841 had hoped for. With its relatively small population and its isolation, it is not surprising that, after annexation, the Marquesas was abandoned by government officials for years at a time and that French policy towards the group was so long in developing.

The issue of alcohol illustrates more than any other the lack of consistency and real concern on the part of the French in dealing with Marquesan affairs. Official policy was proclaimed or ordered changed in the years 1858 (con), 1861 (pro), 1863 (con), 1867 (pro), 1871 (con), 1874? (~~pro~~), and 1880 (con) -- a total of six reversals in the space of twenty-two years. This makes one wonder if perhaps the real ravages inspired by alcohol were not played up ^{more} than they ought to have been

because of the occasional acts of cannibalism that sometimes accompanied hard drinking. In any event, alcohol did occasionally inspire senseless murders and cruelties, as it does universally.

As has been mentioned, the biggest drawback of all during this period was the failure of the French to intervene in force before 1880. The year 1863 or 1864 offered an opportune moment to do so since many crimes were being committed throughout the archipelago around then, and the smallpox epidemic was threatening to depopulate the northwest group. Most of the five hundred people who were killed from 1858 to 1880 might have been spared if the French had acted then, and some, perhaps most, of the 1560 who succumbed to smallpox might have been treated in time to save their lives. As it was, the official census of 30 June 1887 showed the total population to be 5246, less than the total population of Hiva Oa had been in the middle 1850s, just thirty years previously. This had further ~~declined~~ ^{population} ~~declined~~ to a total of 3116 by the end of 1911, a decline of 40% in ~~about~~ twenty-four years! (Annuaire 1888: 217; Annuaire 1915: 319)

Yet, inspite of disease, drugs and culture change, it must be said that droughts and famine set the stage for the rapid depopulation, and these must bear the brunt of ^{the} blame. By definitely committing themselves to the southeast group from 1880 onwards, the French made sure that the Marquesans would never have to suffer from these natural and human ravages to such an extent again.





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